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CONTENTS.—*Let. on Parties*, 641. *Let. to Ld. Hawkesbury*, 646. *Reading Ball*, 653. *Ballad*, 655. *Parl.* 656. *Parma, Moreau de St. Mery*, 658. *Note, Diet of Schwitz*, 658. *Osnaburgh, Ordinance*, 659. *Switz.* 660. *Anacossi, and Despard*, 661. *Summary of Politics*, 663.

641]

[642

ON THE SITUATION OF EUROPE AND THE PARTIES OF GREAT-BRITAIN.

To the Editor.

SIR,—That the present moment is the epoch of a great and important change in the whole system of balanced power in the continent of Europe, no man of the most superficial observation will hesitate to allow. They who are even moderately versed in foreign history, cannot but be aware, that no period has been marked by so essential an innovation, since the first establishment of the Protestant interest in Germany by the peace of religion, and the division of the Austrian dominions, when the Emperor Charles the VIth. wearied out and exhausted by a succession of difficult, but glorious conflicts, took the singular resolution of resigning his crowns. The peace of Westphalia in the next century, and that of the Pyrenees, which soon followed, were but a natural result of the events to which I have alluded, and of the intermediate losses which Spain had suffered, in the revolt and independence of the United Provinces, and the disasters and destruction of her naval force. During all this time, the ascendancy of France, as a military power, advanced only by slow degrees, and with frequent interruptions; in her attempts to dispute the empire of the seas she was still more unsuccessful. Now she has at once enlarged her territories, beyond all comparison, with the collective acquisitions of many wars; she has fixed herself in a proud and irresistible superiority; she has surrounded herself with barriers, as it were, on every side; she has recast and remodelled the conterminous states at her discretion, in such a manner, that the new system, once settled and consolidated, will leave her nothing to fear hereafter; she has subdued under her the second in rank of the maritime states, which formerly opposed no inconsiderable obstacle to her efforts of aggrandizement, and she has made herself more or less directly mistress of the principal stations, which command the intercourse of the two hemispheres. One object, and but one, remains for her ambition to accom-

plish; an object which she has long since openly avowed as nearest her heart, which in war, during negotiation, since the conclusion of peace, she has uniformly pursued, and is still pursuing, with unabated and increasing eagerness; for the prosecution of which she will not cease to employ all her resources; and that object is, not the depression, but the annihilation of the commercial wealth and maritime power of Great-Britain.

On our part, after the most brilliant victories over the chosen troops of the enemy, with fleets the most triumphant that ever stemmed the ocean, with a commerce, contrary to all former example, flourishing more luxuriantly under the protection of our arms, than in the security of peace; fatigued with conquest and fainting in the career of glory, we submitted—yes, however we may seek to disguise the fact, we did in reality submit *to acknowledge an inferiority*, which did not exist in the relative circumstances of the two countries. We gave up to our adversaries the colonies which we had gained to our own trade and navigation. We agreed to evacuate, in their favour, the commanding stations which we had occupied. We sanctioned, or we connived at, their seizure of other posts, no less important, which they extorted from our allies, or their own. Not a single stipulation did we get to revive old, or procure new advantages to our commerce. Finally, abandoning the wise and manly policy of our forefathers, we surrendered Europe, without capitulation, to France. In making a peace of this humiliating description, we neglected the customary precaution of insisting, that the armaments of both countries should be reduced, at some given time, to some common standard. Not an instant was lost in disbanding our own soldiers and discharging our sailors, thousands of whom are said to have emigrated to France: our ships are dismantled, and our naval establishments have been reformed, till they are brought lower than in any former peace, the most stable and safe: while, on the other hand, the Chief Consul has been recruiting his armies; replenishing his arsenals and

dock-yards; building, repairing, commissioning fresh ships; in every way augmenting his military and naval strength. And now the instruments of him, to whose moderation alone our rulers have been persuaded to trust every thing, insolently tell us, that we must fulfil the cessions of our treaty to the most minute letter, but beyond the letter of that treaty we must not look. We shall have *the treaty, the whole treaty, and nothing but the treaty*. The continent is interdicted to us. It is enough for us to mind our work-shops and our warehouses; to preserve them from the depredations of vulgar felons, that they may in convenient time, furnish richer pillage to the regimented robbers of the Great Nation.

This is a faithful picture, though but in miniature, of the situation, in which we stand, and of the prospect that lies before us. The truth of this representation, I believe, is now generally and deeply felt. You, Sir, of all our political writers, had the merit of leading the way, in awakening your countrymen to a sense of their danger. Latterly, you have been more or less assisted by our public prints of every complexion, with, I think, only the single exception of one paper, which scruples not to boast the patronage of the French government. I do not ever remember such concurring testimony to the unanimity of public opinion, on any subject.

It is with regret, however, that I have observed a disposition prevalent, less to consider the *nature of the remedy* than the *band* by which it is to be administered. The former question may now best be left to the wisdom of Parliament, which is assembled; but the latter belongs equally to the people. The monied and mercantile interests of the city, recollecting only the fact, how much they prospered under the administration of Mr. Pitt, without stopping to inquire into the causes, hope to find an immediate cure for the evil in his return to power. Some complain of Mr. Fox in a tender tone, that betrays how anxiously they long to be furnished with any excuse for making him again the god of their idolatry. There appeared not long since, in one of our newspapers, a long and well-written essay, the drift of which was to inculcate, that Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox were alike to be set aside as seceders, and that, if the former should be called to wage new war, he had so acted, that his sincerity could be credited neither by the advisers of war, nor the lovers of peace; that no man, at home or abroad, could seriously think of opposing the least disobedience

in the talents of Mr. Addington and his colleagues; and that the men (exclusive, I understood, of Mr. Fox) who, till peace was made, never ceased to demand it, and when made approved it, are alone qualified to be war-ministers of the country in the approaching trial of our fortitude; because they always manifested an undoubted and undoubting, pure, abstract love of peace, without regarding with whom, under what circumstances, and upon what conditions it might be concluded! You, Sir, with more apparent consistency, have distributed your strong censures very impartially (whether as *prudently*, may, perhaps, be questioned) among all our public characters, except those who condemned the treaty of Amiens. But you have lately met with an antagonist, who, assuming to himself, in his signature, an extraordinary portion of *candour*, seems to have taken up with it, a full share of that pleasant absurdity, which sometimes a little embarrasses that spurious virtue. He joins you in the harshest epithets which can be heaped on the peace; yet he thinks, in some odd way or other, that an increasing conviction of its ruinous operation ought to be accompanied with an increasing love and admiration of the minister, who advised our ruin.* Alas! Sir, this is not a season for these petty bye-games. We shall not have leisure to repent at our ease of such follies. Our destruction will have become inevitable, before we shall have discovered, that our safety could have only been worked out by a cordial combination of all the talents, all the wisdom, all the spirit, and all the prudence to be found among public men.

In absolute monarchies, the vigour of a single mind directing the exercise of uncontrolled power, has sometimes dragged forward an inert and sluggish people to efforts, that seem almost miraculous, and has thus retarded their impending doom. The history of the Roman Empire in its decline, has several splendid instances. — But in free states, where, whatever be their form, the character of the people will more or less influence that of the government, it has seldom, if ever, been seen, that the eloquence of one man has been able to rouse his fellow-citizens, when once sunk into the torpor of luxury or pusillanimity, to any timely exertion for their salvation. Other candidates for office, courting popu-

* Our correspondent alludes, here, to a letter which appeared in the *STAR*, some days ago, signed CANDIDUS, complaining of my severity toward Mr. Addington. — EDITOR.



lar favour by flattering the love of indolence, natural to man, will always be able to counteract his energy so far, at least, as to delay the adoption of his counsels; if not to drive him, for the sake of preserving his pre-eminence in the state, into a total dereliction of his own proper course. To what do we owe the most beautiful orations of antiquity? To that very situation of the two most illustrious statesmen. Demosthenes warned the Athenians in time against the designs of Philip on the independence of Greece: but his warning voice was raised in vain, till it was too late. Cicero urged the early and decisive prosecution of war against Anthony, as the only measure to secure the recovered liberty of Rome; but he could not prevail, till negociation and treaty had been tried and by the delay the fatal aid of Octavius had become necessary. To governments such as ours, parties are not only almost inevitably incident, as growing immediately out of the nature of the constitution, but in moments of peril that demand continued exertion, may be essentially beneficial. That inconstancy, which is no reproach to the people, because all multitudes of independent individuals will ever be actuated more by immediate impulses than deliberate judgment, can only be steadied by the widely extended authority of some public connexion of men, embracing chiefs and leaders of various interests, acting together with firmness and determination, because they act from conviction, on principles which they all know and have approved.

Twenty years, Sir, have passed since we have really had in the country any party; the name of which supposed some definite and professed system of foreign and domestic policy. Then began parties of attachment to persons and names, not to things and principles. We might derive much salutary instruction from a review of the interval, if we would look back, not for the purpose of mutual crimination, not with an intention to palliate, but to detect, that we may amend, our own past errors: at present, however, I wish to turn my eyes another way. The late House of Commons, at its close, was more broken down and dissolved into individuality, than any which I ever recollect. That which has now met, will probably, in this respect, resemble the last. But if it long remains in that state of debility (for such in fact it is) all may be gone for ever; since, as Mr. Laocelles is reported to have truly said,

"not only the fate of this country, but, perhaps, of all Europe, may depend upon the deliberations of this session." Let them hasten, then, to unite among themselves, without regard to names, without predilection to persons, and let the bond of union be, not a furious and rash zeal, but a sober, settled, and enlightened resolution, to resist the encroachments of France. Whether this may best be done by fresh negotiations or by war, I do not pretend to say, thinking, as I have already hinted, that they are themselves most competent to that question in Parliament, where it can be ascertained with sufficient precision, what is the true extent of the injuries and affronts which have occasioned the present bustle of preparation, what are our own means, and what the dispositions of the continental powers. But a spirit and tone of unrelaxing firmness instead of pliant conciliation, a look of severe vigilance instead of shy connivance, a heart that beats with the full pulse of our ancestors towards France, are the leading qualifications which we have now a right to expect, in all who aspire to the name of British Statesmen. A party constructed on the broadest base of such a test can alone, in our present situation, deserve the public confidence; and if the Sovereign and his people should be so fortunate as to have a choice between parties, heartily concurring in this fundamental point of foreign policy, and differing only about the means of most effectually prosecuting the same great end, instead of contending which is most sincere in declarations, of amity and concession their competition will be still more salutary in its effects, and afford, under the blessing of Providence, the surest human means of success.

Highgate, Nov. 17.

A Freeholder.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,
His Majesty's Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs.

MY LORD,—In resuming the pen for the purpose of concluding the subject of my last letter (p 605), it may not be amiss to recapitulate the points of the former part of it. I proposed, in the outset, to enquire into the change which these six months of peace would (in case of a renewal of the war) have made in our position, naval and military, domestic and foreign. I had, by way of introduction to this enquiry, stated, that the present uncertain state of things was not only the consequence of the peace of Amiens, but that your lordship and your colleagues were duly warned, that such

would be the consequence of that compact, a statement which I supported by a reference to several speeches delivered in both Houses of Parliament. Having, next, endeavoured to shew the fatal effects which must result from a prolongation of the present armistice, by the means of further acts of humiliation; having brought the question to the simple alternative of *war*, or *submission to France*, I, of course, expressed my hope that the nation would insist on the former. Entering, then, upon my subject, I took a view of the change, which the peace had produced in the relative position, naval and military, of Great-Britain and France, in which, however, I omitted to mention, that, since the signature of the preliminaries, the latter nation has (though in contradiction to the opinion of your lordship)* *launched eighteen ships of the line, at the three ports of Brest, Rochefort, and Toulon*. From the physical I came to the moral disadvantages, which will be found to have been produced by the peace; and here the decline of the national spirit first presented itself. I endeavoured to shew how fatal the tone of the negotiation, the terms of the treaty, and the arguments by which it had been defended, must prove in any future belligerent contest. Here I was reluctantly compelled to break off, without having sufficiently dwelt on certain particular acts, opinions, and expressions, which tended to humble and debase the public mind: this part of my task, therefore, remains to be performed, previously to the observations with which I shall take the liberty to trouble your lordship, as to that branch of the subject which is more immediately within the province of a Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The first overture towards the negotiation was accompanied, on our part, by an act, of which, it is probable, not ten persons, even in this country, would have been found capable. But however the world may admire in your lordship, those qualities, which, while they prove your "hereditary disposition to office," enable you to

* Amongst other grounds of security, your lordship stated, in the debate of the 3d of November, 1801, that it would require "a great number of years for France to bring her navy to what it was at the beginning of the last war," and that, during those years, "we should be employed, not in building ships, but in making seamen." You concluded these memorable observations with asserting, that, "in the course of eight or ten years, we should be enabled to renew the contest with more advantage than we began it last war!!"—Oh! most "safe politician!"

bare your head to a Commissary of Prisoners, it is certain, that, at the out-set of a negotiation for peace, a more dangerous step could not have been taken. *Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coute*; a proverb which your lordship and your colleagues have most amply verified: for, from the day when one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State first stooped to solicit a personal interview with a French Commissary of prisoners, for the purpose of obtaining peace, hardly a week has passed without exhibiting to the people of England some new mark of national humiliation, some unequivocal proof that their country is, after a long struggle, become inferior to that of their ancient rivals and antagonists.

During the whole of the negotiation of the preliminaries, the language of the ministerial prints was perfectly in unison with the tone of our negotiators. It was, indeed, qualified in various ways; but the conclusion always was, that *peace must be had upon any terms*, for that any longer continuation of war would be certain destruction. When, therefore, this blessing, or rather this escape from annihilation, was announced, the people, who, to prepare them for such a peace as it was foreseen would be made, had been scared half to death, were lost in "a tumult of exultation and delirium of joy;" and that disgraceful and ominous deed, of dragging the French aide-de-camp through the streets of London, was, to say the truth, nothing more than the natural consequence of the feelings, which the conduct of the government had excited in their breasts. Till this time, too, no one had ever dared openly and despitefully to set the laws of the country at defiance. This is a country of law: veneration of the judges and the magistrates in general is so deeply rooted in the minds of the people, that the impunity with which Lundberg and Lauriston were suffered to pass, seemed little short of a partial revolution: it was, at least, such a proof of submission to France, of dread of that nation, of consciousness of our inferiority to her, as nothing could invalidate or controvert. Close in the rear of this came the *surrender of Napper Tandy*, at the same moment that the people were informed, that their government *had not been able to save a single royalist of La Vendée!* Lundberg had passed unapprehended; but Napper Tandy had been apprehended, tried, convicted, and condemned: France snatched him from justice, with the halter about his neck, and compelled us to convey him, in

649]

one of our own ships, in triumph to her coast. There, my lord, in that act, I greatly fear, that loyalty, public spirit, and national character, in this country, received a blow, from which they will never recover.

The sentiments and language of the makers and defenders of the peace, were perfectly consonant to these humiliating and disgraceful acts. Sir Joseph Banks has been strongly and justly censured for his crawling letter to the Institute of France; but, the writer of that letter may very fairly plead the example of the ministers and the parliament. It was, by some members, declared, in so many words, that, in estimating the terms, we should not forget that we had "*treated with a nation MORE POWERFUL than ourselves*;" and this was, in fact, the conclusion to be drawn, and which the people drew, from every argument made use of in defence of the peace. Nay, out of doors, no one, that I know of, except Sir Frederick Eden and Mr. Chalmers, has attempted to defend it upon any other ground. Mr. Belsham, for instance, calls it a peace of *necessity*, and says that it was wisdom in your lordship and your colleagues *to submit time enough to avoid destruction*. This is the light in which the great mass of the people have been made to see the measure; it is the light in which they still see it. It is not easy, my lord, to rouse a people so humbled to a vigorous renewal and prosecution of the war; and, I think, I am now warranted to repeat, that this humble and debased state of the public mind is to be attributed to the makers and defenders of the treaty of Amiens.

I now come, my lord, to the concluding object of my enquiry, to wit: the change, which the negotiation and the peace, or, in your lordship's own pretty words, which "*the time, the tone, and the terms of the treaty of Amiens*," will, in case of a renewal of the war, have made in our position with respect to those *foreign powers with which we were in amity during the last war*—And here I may observe, without the fear of contradiction, that an impression, similar to that which has been produced, by the peace, on the minds of the people of this country, will have been produced on the minds of all foreign nations. The loss of our character, on the continent, was most forcibly described by Lord Minto, in the debate upon the definitive treaty. During the war, his lordship said, "it was his fortune, in those moments of timidity and despair, which marked the despondant

"feelings of other nations, to inspirit them
"by appeals to the example of his country,
"and thereby to endeavour at rallying
"their broken spirits and languid exertions
"to the common cause. When the news
"of this ignominious peace arrived at Vienna, he, as well as others, treated it as
"a fabrication of the French; but, when
"he was convinced of the fact by an
"official communication, the sensations
"of sorrow, of shame, and of indignation
"that he felt, were not to be expressed:
"he wished, but in vain, to retract those
"representations of the undaunted spirit
"and unshaken fortitude of his country,
"which he had so often and so proudly
"urged to the ambassadors of other powers,
"in his endeavours to encourage them to
"renew and maintain the contest. All his
"assertions honourable to his country were
"completely falsified by this disgraceful
"act, which had destroyed all the admiration of England, all the dread of her
"anger, and all the desire to cultivate her
"friendship, which formerly existed on the
"continent of Europe."—In America the feelings, with respect to our disgrace, will be still more injurious to our cause in any future war. On the continent of Europe we are envied: in America we are both envied and hated, by a considerable portion of the people, who will now treat us with that malicious species of contempt, which is invariably bestowed upon fallen pride. This contempt we shall have to encounter, too, in the negotiation of a new treaty of amity and commerce, which must be made before the 1st of October, 1803, or America will be at full liberty to impose whatever restrictions she pleases on the importation of British goods. Whenever this treaty shall be made, my lord, the Americans will remember the ingenious argument, which you employed in defending the treaty of Amiens, "that by placing the French upon the back of the Americans, in Louisiana, we should compel the latter to attach themselves more closely to Great-Britain;" the Americans will remember this, my lord, and England will have to pay most dearly, as, indeed, she ought to do, for this *lapis linguæ* of one of her favourite sort of statesmen, one of her "*safe politicians*."

But, to return to my subject, besides that general impression, that thorough persuasion of our degeneracy, and of our *inferiority to France*, which will have been adopted by foreign nations, and which will, upon the breaking out of a war, have marked us out as a people to be shunned; besides our acts

of folly and pusillanimity, there are acts of *bad faith* towards our allies, which, had we still retained our character for bravery and power, must have operated greatly to our disadvantage. We may talk of our *good faith*, but no human being will believe us, while we retain Trinidad and Ceylon, the former of which we purchased with a part of the territory of Portugal, and the latter with a most shameful abandonment of the Stadtholder! With what face can your lordship and your colleagues complain even of that most daring act of injustice, the new partition of Germany? Would not Russia bid you remember the King of Sardinia? and would not the First Consul of the Western Nation ask you *where*, if not in Germany, you expected him to find, for the Stadtholder, that *compensation, equivalent to the loss of his property and his stadtholderate*, for which you had the generosity to provide by the treaty of Amiens? "And shall you," would he say, "ask me why I cut up the empire of Germany; *you*, who abandoned the Stadtholder, and who left me to reward him for his services and sacrifices to you? *you*, who were duly informed, that his compensation was *not* to come from Holland; *you*, who well knew, that he was to share in the plunder of your German friends and allies; shall *you* ask me what right I have to parcel out the electorates and principalities of the Empire?" I know not what answer your lordship would make him.—I am not one of those who wish to draw a veil over these dark transactions; for, in the first place, though we may deceive ourselves, we cannot deceive the world; and, in the next, I am fully convinced, that we must openly confess the sins of this dishonourable and dishonest peace, express our abhorrence of them, and shew, by our future conduct, that this abhorrence is *sincere*, before we can hope to retrieve our character. I will not, however, take up your lordship's time with speculating on what *may be* the consequence of this loss of character, as to our influence with other powers; I will content myself with shewing what has *already* been the consequence of it, confining my illustration to the instance of Russia. The connection between that Empire and France has cut us off from the continent of Europe, which it has enslaved. It has produced the destruction of the Germanic constitution, of which England has long been a guarantee, and it has placed what is still called the German Empire under the absolute command of our mortal and formidable enemy. The consequences of

this unnatural connection were not unforeseen, my lord. MR. GENTZ, whose valuable work has been, I believe, patronized by you and your colleagues, gave you timely warning of these fatal consequences. "There was a period," (says he, alluding to the negotiation between Buonaparté and the Emperor Paul), "when Russia seemed disposed to form a close alliance, and act in concert with France. It was natural and consistent that the French government should use all its efforts to accomplish this singular metamorphosis; and that the partizans of that government should exhaust their eloquence and ingenuity to prove to the Russian monarch how infinite the glory and advantage he was to derive from his new connection. But that they should expect to gain the assent of the rest of Europe to their new doctrine, and to persuade all the nations that this monstrous alliance was to be a source of security, liberty, and prosperity to them; this required a degree of assurance on the one hand, and of credulity on the other, almost surpassing all conception. I will not here enquire, whether the true interests of Russia can ever induce its government to form an alliance with France (which can hardly be conceived possible, unless its ancient relations with England be entirely given up); I am speaking of the interests of Europe, and of the politics of each nation with respect to the whole. In which view of the subject, I assert, upon the firmest conviction, that an alliance between Russia and France, such as was some months ago, and surely not without reason, apprehended, *would be the most dangerous, the most fatal of all political combinations*; that if in the politics of Europe there yet remained any sense of dignity, of interest, and of duty, every nerve would be strained, and every power employed to counteract this last and most formidable evil; and that if ever it should be realized, the moment of its formation would be the last of all independence, all security in Europe, all peace BUT THE PEACE OF THE GRAVE."

These are, indeed, my lord, only assertions, but they are the assertions of a profound and experienced politician, well acquainted with the state of the Continent; and, what gives them still greater weight, there is every appearance of their being fully verified by the effects of the much-dreaded connection, which has since taken place, and which has already changed the face of Europe. Why then was not this connec-

tion prevented? How came France to effect it? Where was your lordship, and where were all your able negotiators? That the Emperor Alexander *was* well disposed towards us, and towards the cause of us and our allies is evident from the notes of M. Kalitschef (See Register, Vol. I. p. 73.) respecting the dominions of the King of Sardinia. In fact, up to the very moment of the signature of the Preliminaries of Downing-street, Russia was not only willing, but desirous to act in concert with us, for the purpose of making such a settlement as should preserve the Continent from the fangs of France. Every means in the power of your lordship, your colleagues, and your negotiator, had been used to damp the "*intemperate ardour*" of the young Emperor, to *prevent him from taking any step that might deprive you of the means of obtaining for us THE BLESSINGS OF PEACE*: but, till he actually saw the preliminaries of peace, till he had proof positive of our resolution to leave the Continent to the mercy of France, he never listened to the offers of Buonaparté. To the peace, therefore, we owe not only the loss to ourselves of this most powerful friend, but the addition of his power to that of our enemy; to the peace, and to the peace alone, we owe the new division of Germany, and, as a consequence of it, the almost total impossibility of ever again deriving any support or assistance from the Continent.

Such, my lord, is the change, which these six months of "feverish repose" have produced in our position, naval, military, domestic, and foreign: such are the disadvantages, under which we must again have recourse to arms, unless we prefer absolute submission to the enemy: such have already been the consequences of a peace, which you and your colleagues termed *honourable and glorious*, and for the conclusion of which you bade us *return thanks to the Almighty!!!*

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.
London, 14 Nov. 1802. WM. COBBETT.

READING BALL ON THE PEACE.

We have received the following letter, by post, we know not from whom; but, as the writer appears very much in earnest, we have given it insertion.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,—Whether your correspondent, who signs himself J. Tietenser, be a real personage or not, I am a little puzzled to determine, for I certainly do remember such a name at Reading, though I rather be-

lieve it was differently spelt. Of one thing, however, I am certain, that he was not at the ball. Mr. Addington assuredly did say, that he was an instrument in the hands of Providence to obtain the blessings of peace.

You have in your own person, Sir, indirectly passed a very severe censure upon the phrase, and I should agree with you, if I had understood it as you appear to do. But I confess it appeared to me, delivered as it was with almost a funeral solemnity, to be no more than a pious submission to the Supreme will, clearly manifested in the present situation of the country: I thought that the minister was meritoriously imitating the patience of Job, in referring all as blessing to him who takes away as well as gives. I do not know whether this sentence, which is used in our burial service, formed a part of the "Anthem on the Peace," with which, instead of a song, Mr. Addington was entertained after dinner, at the house of a gentleman in this neighbourhood. At any rate it is probable, that the religious impressions made by this singular, but laudable, mode of entertainment, suggested the phrase in question.

Mr. Tietenser possibly may have heard both stories of Mr. Addington's reception at Bisham Abbey, the house of the worthy member for the county, as well as at Reading, and, not being very accurate himself, may suppose the person who gave an account of the latter to have confounded them both together. I cannot conceive, however, what he saw in this that was "ludicrous." There has been, in my judgment, too much joke besides on this occasion. Grave subjects (and I know not any more so than the dispensations of Providence in this peace) ought to be treated with becoming gravity.

Whitehall, Nov 10, 1802.

N. V*.

* We do not know to whom we are to attribute the favour of the preceding letter, but the writer certainly seems to be well acquainted with the subject. Of the new circumstance, which he mentions, we can ourselves confirm the truth; that an anthem on the peace was really selected, instead of a prophane song, to entertain the pious Mr. Addington after dinner. Light, however, and trifling as is the whole story of the minister's late progress into Berkshire to snuff up the incense of his Secretary's family and friends, of his own cavalry corps; and his Reading neighbours, of "dancing misses and negus-swigging fidlers;" much as we are provoked to laughter by his solemn lamentation over his removal from Woodley to Richmond Park; yet we do feel with our correspondent, that there is much more to occasion

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,—If you think the following can afford any amusement to your numerous Readers, it is very much at their service. You will readily perceive, that I have done little more than tag with doggerel different hints which I have taken from your valuable Register. Should you think any notes or references necessary, you will be so good as to add them at your discretion.

I am, Sir, your constant reader,
Liverpool, Nov. 9, 1802.

R. W.

ADDINGTON AND HAWKESBURY.

*An excellent new Ballad to the tune of "Widow
Saunderson."*

Did you ever hear Addington?

Hey Sir, ho Sir,

Did you ever hear Addington, O?

Did you ever hear Addington,

So solemn and sad in tone?

O he is a solemn fellow!

O he is a solemn fellow!

If his treaty distresses you,

Hey Sir, ho Sir,

If his treaty distresses you O!

If his treaty distresses you,

'Tis Providence blesses you;

O he is a blessed fellow, &c.

Do the people feel shame of it,

Hey Sir, ho Sir,

Do the people feel shame of it O!

Do the people feel shame of it,

He gives them the fame of it!

O he is a modest fellow, &c.

Give up all for security,

Hey Sir, ho Sir,

Give up all for security O!

Give up all for security,

And the rest he'll insure it ye:

O he is a prudent fellow, &c.

And if still you are driven, Sir,

Hey Sir, ho Sir,

And if still you are driven, Sir O!

And if still you are driven, Sir,

He'll retain what was given, Sir,

O he is an honest fellow, &c.

very grave reflections indeed. Let the people of this country look back to the date of these follies; let them look also to the date of those events, which have forced even our pacific cabinet into a new tone and attitude of hostility; and then let them think, what must be the frivolity of that mind, on which, should another war ensue, their very existence may depend. Neither can we forbear again more directly, since the fact is now established, to mark with the most serious reprehension that affront offered to the Omniscient in magnifying his bounty for the blessings of a peace, which he who, to round a sentence, affected this criminal piety, admitted at the first moment, not to be glorious, and had since discovered not to be safe. With these few remarks, we hope not too grave, we for our own part shall dismiss the subject for ever.

Then up gets Lord Hawkesbury,

Hey Sir, ho Sir,

Then up gets Lord Hawkesbury O!

Then up gets Lord Hawkesbury,

While cries, half he talks, bury;

O he is a talking fellow, &c.

All was but a merriment*,

Hey Sir, ho Sir,

All was but a merriment O!

All was but a merriment,

A peace of experiment:

O he is a merry fellow, &c.

Does France threat your commerce, Sir,

Hey Sir, ho Sir,

Does France threat your commerce, Sir, O!

Does France threat your commerce, Sir,

He'll save it all from her, Sir,

O he is a careful fellow, &c.

Credit, confidence, capital,

Hey Sir, ho Sir,

Credit, confidence, capital, O!

Credit, confidence, capital,

Safe and snug shall enwrap it all;

O he is a clever fellow, &c.

For old treaties, oh! scout-em all,

Hey Sir, ho Sir,

For old treaties, oh! scout-em all, O!

For old treaties, oh! scout-em all,

You are better without-em all!

O he is a cunning fellow, &c.

In Paris victorious,

Hey Sir, ho Sir,

In Paris victorious, O!

In Paris victorious,

Once he long'd to be glorious:

O he is a glorious fellow, &c.

Now the pacificator, Sir,

Hey Sir, ho Sir,

Now the pacificator, Sir, O!

Now the pacificator, Sir,

He thinks himself greater, Sir,

He now is a solid fellow, &c.

He would have the day noted, Sir,

Hey Sir, ho Sir,

He would have the day noted, Sir, O!

He would have the day noted, Sir,

When thanks the House voted, Sir,

O he'll be a noted fellow, &c.

'Twas the fifth† of November, Sir,

Hey Sir, ho Sir,

'Twas the fifth of November, Sir, O!

'Twas the fifth of November, Sir,

So remember, remember, Sir,

O he'll be a flaming fellow, &c.

* We believe the writer alludes here to the name of the gentleman at Paris, through whom the principal part of the negotiation passed. He is familiarly known upon London 'Change by the name of *Merry Andrew*.—EDITOR.

† We thought our correspondent wrong; but on turning to the newspapers of the *fifth*, we find that the address was not voted till near one in that morning. This we presume to be our correspondent's allusion.—EDITOR.

Then sing Mr. Addington,
 Hey Sir, ho Sir,
 Then sing Mr. Addington, O!
 Then sing Mr. Addington,
 There is not such a lad in town:
 O he is a famous fellow, &c.

And sing, too, Lord Hawkesbury,
 Hey Sir, ho Sir,
 And sing, too, Lord Hawkesbury, O!
 And sing, too, Lord Hawkesbury,
 Whose fame shall Guy Faux bury,
 He, too, was a famous fellow, &c.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.*

Tuesday, November, 16.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—This day, being the day appointed by Royal Proclamation for the meeting of the new Parliament, it was opened by Commission, by the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Duke of Portland.—Adjourned till next day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—The House proceeded, according to instruction, to the choice of a SPEAKER. The Right Hon. Sir Wm. Scott, at the close of a short speech, moved "That the Right Hon. Charles Abbott be again called to the chair of this House," which was seconded by Mr. H. Lascelles. The choice was unanimous. Mr. Abbott then returned thanks to the House. An eulogy on Mr. Abbott was then pronounced by Lord Castlereagh; after which the House adjourned till next day.—About 300 members were present.

Wednesday, November 17.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—The Speaker of the House of Commons was received and approved of by Commission.—Lord Keith (made a peer of the United Kingdom) was introduced, and took his seat.—Several lords were sworn in.—Adjourned till next day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—The Speaker and several members were sworn in.—Adjourned till next day.

Thursday, November 18.

Both Houses were employed swearing in new members.

* Foreseeing, that an account of the Proceedings in Parliament, such as we gave in our last volume, will take from the Weekly Number too large a portion of that space, which we shall want for other matter, we propose to confine ourselves to a mere narrative of the business brought forward, and of the nature, the progress, and result of the divers discussions, reserving for the SUPPLEMENT to the Volume, an ample report of every important debate.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Decree of Mederic-Louis-Elie Moreau de Saint Mery, issued at Parma, October 23, 1802.

In the name of the French Republic.—Mederic-Louis-Elie Moreau Saint Mery, Counsellor of State, Administrator-General of the States of Parma, Piacenza, Guastalla, &c.—A Convention concluded between France and Spain, the 21st March, 1801, places at the disposal of France the States of the Infant Duke of Parma, and death having carried off that Prince upon the 9th of October, 1802, the First Consul has decided, that from this moment the exercise of the Sovereignty is transferred by just right to the French Republic, and he has in consequence cast his eyes upon us, and declared us Administrator-General of these States. We have in consequence decreed as follows;—I. Reckoning from the 9th October all the rights and powers attached to the sovereignty in the said States of Parma, Piacenza, Guastalla, &c. belong and remain to the French Republic.—II. The Provisional Regency established the same day, that his Royal Highness the Infant Duke of Parma had ceased to live, is suppressed.—III. All the Functionaries of the old government shall continue provisionally, and until a new order express their functions.—IV. The Public Acts, whatever their nature, shall be made out in the name of the French Republic, and shall bear a double date, viz. that of the Calendar of this Republic and that of the old Calendar.—V. No Act of Public Administration or Legislation shall have any validity, unless it emanates directly from us, or is clothed with our approbation.—VI. We enjoin all the Public Functionaries, without exception, under their responsibility, to increase their zeal and activity, to labour conjointly with us to maintain good order and public tranquillity, to secure the triumph of justice, without which there is no society, and to preserve among a people, worthy of all our cares, the respect which it owes to its Magistrates, as also the sentiment of happiness to be governed by France.—VII. The present decree shall be printed, published, and posted up in the usual places, and enregistered in the different offices through the whole extent of the States of Parma, Piacenza, Guastalla, &c. in order that it may be known by every body, and that all may conform to it in every respect, &c. &c.—Parma, Oct. 23, 1802.

(Signed) *Moreau Saint Mery.*

Note addressed, on the 26th of October, by the Diet of Schwitz to General Ney.

The President of the Confederated Cantons having been required, on the part of General Ney, by his Adjutant, M. Becher, to declare whether the Diet would accept the proclamation of the First Consul of the French Republic, the Diet have the honour to observe to the General, that already on the 15th of this month, they had taken the resolution of delivering up their powers into the hands of their constituents as soon as the French troops should enter Switzerland, having never entertained the design of opposing them by force of arms.—Now that the Diet is positively informed that the Cities of Basle and Berne are occupied by French troops, it no longer delays to dissolve itself; at the same time, they seize this

opportunity of declaring to the General, that conformably to the instructions they have received from their constituents, which they consider themselves obliged to conform to, they cannot regard the Helvetic government as established, nor alienate the sacred right which their nation possesses, of forming a Constitution for itself, a right which they inherited from their ancestors, and which was confirmed to them by the treaty of Luneville: but, on the contrary, are firmly convinced that the Swiss will never recover their tranquillity and their happiness, but in the exercise of that right.

They pray that the General will place before the eyes of the First Consul, this just demand, which is not only the expressions of the sentiments of the Diet, but of all Swiss who wish well to their country.—In the name of the Diet,

Alors Reding.

Royal Patent Ordinance relative to the occupation of the Bishopric of Osnaburg, has been published in that Bishopric: it is dated Hanover, Nov. 4, 1802.

We, GEORGE the THIRD, &c. hereby signify to the canons and other clergy, to the knights, vassals, burgers, inhabitants, and subjects of the late Bishopric of Osnaburg, our royal favour and good will. Forasmuch as by the late relation of the Indemnities in Germany, in pursuance of the Peace of Luneville, adopted by the Deputation of the Empire at Ratisbon, the late Bishopric of Osnaburg, with all its dependencies, is secularized and assigned to Us and our House, as an hereditary principality; and as such has been accepted by Us, and as We have agreed with respect to its cession and evacuation, with its Sovereign, our beloved Prince FREDERICK DUKE of YORK and ALBANY, We have thought good, and resolved to take possession of the said principality of Osnaburg, with all its dependencies, and the government of the same for Us and our House; and for that purpose, have appointed our state and cabinet-minister, Christian-Louis Augustus Von Arnswaldt, our commissioner plenipotentiary, and have ordered our troops to march. We, therefore, by this patent, take on ourselves the government of the principality of Osnaburg, and require the canons and other clergy, the knights, vassals, burgers, and other inhabitants and subjects, to acknowledge Us as their only Sovereign, and to be true and faithful to Us, our heirs and successors. We cannot doubt but they will deport themselves peaceably on this occasion, and render obedience to all orders which may be signified to them in Our name, by Our minister plenipotentiary, and that they will transfer to Us, the fidelity and duty they shewed to their former Sovereign, in which case they may rely with full confidence on Our unwearied care for their welfare, and paternal protection and favour.—*Ad Mandatum Regis et Electoris Speciale.*
Kielmannsegg, — Arnswaldt, — Döcken.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

St. Petersburg, Oct. 22.—In the 5th article of the treaty of peace concluded with the French Republic, on the 8th of October, 1801, it is stipulated that all the former commercial connexions between Russia and France shall be renewed be-

tween the two powers, and restored to the state in which they were before the war. As, therefore, on the 31st December, 1786, a treaty of commerce was concluded with France for 12 years, which was only carried into effect till the 8th of February, 1793, his Imperial Majesty has given orders that the said treaty shall be considered as revived from the present time, and continue in force for five years.

Basle, Nov. 3.—The Diet of Schwitz exists no more; it was forced to dissolve itself on the 28th of October. The last categorical declaration from General Rapp, and the approach of the French troops to the place of their meeting, made them separate against the wishes of their President, the celebrated Alors Reding, who preferred war. Before it closed its sittings, it published a proclamation, in substance as follows:

“The members of the Diet return their powers to the hands of their Constituents, having been checked in their proceedings by a foreign armed force, and by the influence of extraordinary circumstances; they do not renounce the right guaranteed to the different cantons by the treaty of Luneville, of giving to Switzerland a suitable Constitution, and they protest before hand against all that other inhabitants of Switzerland are about to do to renounce that right.” (That is to say, what the Helvetic Consulta, which is to assemble at Paris, shall decree relative to the future Constitution of Helvetia).

The Deputies of the Diet left Schwitz on the 29th and 30th October.

Nov. 4.—After several protests, the Municipality of this city, formed since the commencement of the insurrection, has dissolved itself, and the Municipality has been re-organised after the constitutional mode. The free corps of this city, suppressed at the commencement of the revolution, and re-established two months ago, has been disarmed and disbanded by order of the French commandant. The disarming has also taken place in the country parts, the misunderstanding which reigns between the inhabitants and the country people having given rise to apprehensions of fatal consequences.

French troops have passed through this city in great numbers for the last week. We have reckoned nine battalions of infantry, five squadrons of cavalry, and a numerous train of artillery. All these troops have proceeded to Argovia and the Eastern Cantons. Several more battalions are to pass through this city for the interior of Switzerland.

Tranquillity is not yet re-established in the Canton of Argovia; the peasants of the district of Brugg are still in insurrection.

The Canton of Schaffhausen has not yet been garrisoned by French troops. That canton has in general distinguished itself by its wise conduct, though much misunderstanding exists between the city and country parts—the former inclining to the ancient regime.

All the measures of the Helvetic government since their return to Berne, indicate that they wish to avoid all new reaction, and to conform strictly to the dispositions of the proclamation of the First Consul. This is perhaps the motive which has engaged them to confirm in their functions the Prefect, and other functionaries, of the Canton of Berne, who had been appointed during the reign of the Provisional Government.—

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Verninac is still at Berne; but he is going soon to Paris.

Hamburgh, Nov. 5.—Private letters from Petersburg, of the 19th ult. contain the important intelligence, that the present political circumstances have occasioned, from a certain great power, proposals of a triple alliance between Great Britain, Russia, and Austria, to which Sweden and Denmark will be invited to accede. The plan itself has been very favourably received by the Russian cabinet.—Letters from Vienna of the 27th ult. in corroboration of the above, state, that very important negotiations are now on foot to secure the tranquillity of Europe, and these are assigned as the reason of the frequent exchange of couriers between the British, Russian, and Austrian cabinets. Count Stahrenberg, add the same advices, goes to London with dispatches of the highest importance; and his diplomatic abilities being rated very highly by the Emperor, he has obtained a great augmentation of his salary, and is invested with the most extensive authority.—A neighbouring government is said to be apprized of the new federation which it is now the object of several great courts to accomplish, and has charged its diplomatic agents to counteract it by every means in their power. A French courier, with very important dispatches, passed a few days ago through Frankfurt on his way to Petersburg.

DOMESTIC.

On the 17th. inst. His Majesty held a levée at St. James, when the French Minister Plenipotentiary, ANDREOSSI, was introduced (in his engineer's uniform, with pantaloons and boots on, and a tremendous sword dragging the ground), and after the levée delivered, in a private audience, his letters of credence to His Majesty.—Saint James's Street and the upper end of Pall Mall were filled with carriages and persons on foot, to see the French Minister, who was, in several parts of his way, to and from court, hailed with loud huzzas by the people.

On the 18th. inst. Her Majesty had a drawing room, which was unusually crowded. Mr. ANDREOSSI had the precedence.

On Tuesday evening, Mr. Stafford, the chief clerk, attended by a body of police officers, went to the Oakley Arms, Lambeth, where they apprehended Col. Despard, and near forty labouring men and soldiers; the major part of them Irish. They were all immediately taken to Union Hall. The whole of the party on Wednesday morning underwent a long private examination before R. C. Smith, T. Evance, and P. Broadley, Esqrs. when Mr. Despard was committed to the county gaol of Surrey, on suspicion of being concerned in treasonable practices. Twenty were committed to Tothill-fields Bridewell.—On Thursday, Col. Despard was brought to Lord Pelham's office, when he underwent a very long examination before Sir Richard Ford, the particulars of which did not transpire. He was committed to Newgate.

The warrant of commitment expressly charged

him with conspiring to compass the death of the King, and was grounded upon the oath of the soldier who gave the information, and the circumstances of his examination. A printed form of an oath was found in the room where the party were sitting. It is said to be something in the nature of the United Irishmen's oath, and that they were in the act of administering it to each other. We understand that it was the object of the conspirators to make an attempt upon the life of His Majesty, on his way to the Parliament House, on Tuesday next. In this horrid undertaking, they were to be joined by 2000 of the poor of Spitalfields, and about the same number from St. George's fields, &c. amounting in the whole to 10,000. The attempt on his Majesty was only intended as the first scene in this frightful tragedy; and, it is said, that having succeeded in that, it was their farther plan to seize the tower, where having armed themselves, they meant to return and take possession of the Bank. From thence they were to proceed to Buckingham House, and seize the rest of the Royal Family resident there. These latter circumstances have been mentioned by the soldier, who gave the information at Union Hall. This business is likely to engross the whole attention of government for some days. It is almost unnecessary to add, that he is the Colonel Despard who was so long confined in *Cold-Bath-fields prison*.—N.B. The above particulars we copy from the *Morning Post*, and have no reason to question their authenticity. Mr. Pitt was immediately sent for to town!!!

STOCKS.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU	FRI
Bank Stock.	—	180	180	179½	179½	179
3 pr. C.R. An.	66½	67	67	66½	67	67
3 per C. Con.	67½	68	68	67½	68	67½
4 pr C. Cons.	83½	83½	83½	83½	83½	83½
5 pr Ct. Ann.	100½	101	101½	100½	101	101
Bank L. Ann.	19½	19½	19½	19½	19½	19½
D ^s . 1778 & 9	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 per Ct. 1797	99½	100½	100½	99½	100	100
Omnium ...	10½ di	10 dis	10 dis	10½ di	10 dis	10½ di

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F. 11 4	2 us.	LEGHORN	51
D ^o , at sight 11 2½		NAPLES	42½
ROTTERDAM 11 5	2 us.	GENOA	47
HAMBURGH 33 9	2½ us.	VENICE, 52 livres piccole	
ALTONA.... 33 10	2½ us.	effective per £. ster.	
PARIS 1 day 23 18		LISBON	67½
PARIS..... 24 5	2 us.	Oporto	68
BOURDEAUX, 24 5		DUBLIN.....	11½
CADIZ 35½	eff.	BILBOA.....	37½ D ^o
MADRID .. 36½	effective	AGIO, bank on Hol. p.	

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat pr q. 45s. to 60s	Hops per cwt. 180s to 220s		
Rye. 33 .. 36	Hay per load.... 7s .. 15s		
Barley. 25 .. 33	Beef, per stone 4s. to 5s.		
Malt	44 .. 48	Mutton 4s. 8d. to 5s. 8d.	
Oats	14 .. 23	Veal 4s. od. to 6s. od.	
Pease (white)....	45 .. 50	Pork 5s. od. to 6s. od.	
Beans (horse)....	33 .. 38	Tallow	4s. 3½d.
Flour per sack ..	49 .. 50	Av. of Sugar pr cw 33s. 3½d	
Seconds.....	40 .. 45	Salt, per Bushel 13s. 10d.	
Coals per chal.	44 .. 52	Bread 9½d the Quar. Loaf.	

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The fate of Switzerland is, it seems, now completely decided. The Diet of Schwitz is dissolved, and the country is taken possession of by the armies of France. The ministerial papers, the *True Briton* and *Sun*, of the 19th of October, informed the public, that His Majesty's ministers would not "QUIETLY SUFFER Buonaparté to destroy the independence of Switzerland." Yet the independence of Switzerland is destroyed by Buonaparté; and great indeed will be our surprise, if those ministers should attempt to punish him for despising their interposition.

Since our last, the Consul, who is a great favourite of fortune, has come to an additional inheritance. The Duchy of Parma, and its dependencies, have fallen to him, by the death of its former possessor. It is a little wind-fall, which he will of course take to himself, and with which we have no manner of business. The lovers of peace and plenty were greatly indignant at the decree of M. L. E. Moreau de St. Mery, (see p. 658), till it was proved to them, by uncontrovertible evidence, that Parma was ceded to France by Spain, (who, by the bye, had no more right to cede it, than we had to make a constitution for Malta), in a treaty, which was made on the 21st of March, 1801, and which was published in this work on the 30th of January last, (see Vol. I. p. 52). By that treaty, the Duchy was ceded to France, without reservation as to time: the words are:—"The reigning Duke of Parma renounces for himself, and his heirs for ever, the Duchy of Parma, with all its dependencies, in favour of the French Republic." Short and pithy!—No time is specified; the date of the treaty is the date of the cession; and, therefore, Buonaparté has really shewn no inconsiderable degree of moderation and forbearance, in suffering the old Duke to expire in his dominions. This prince seems, however, never to have been informed, that Buonaparté was ever to be his heir; for he left, by will, a regency, of which his Duchess was at the head. The Duke of Parma was wrong not to take in the *Moniteur*, which is now become *le livre des destins* for all the states in the world. M. L. E. Moreau de St. Mery, however, (who was a bookseller in Philadelphia in the year 1798), took care soon to inform the Duchess, that she was any thing but a regent; and that she must immediately quit the states of Parma!—This Duchy, which is both populous and

rich, brings to France an additional population of nearly half a million of souls; making, together with Piedmont, the total population of the French Republic amount to little short of *thirty-six millions*. The situation of the Duchy of Parma is the most advantageous that can possibly be conceived for the purpose of introducing, at pleasure, the armies of France into the heart of Italy. It lies almost in the centre of the Italian Republic; and while that part of this republic which is on the left of the Po is entirely exposed on the side of Piedmont, the part on the right of that river is equally exposed to the Duchy of Parma. The town of Placentia furnishes a passage of great importance over the Po, and the cession (which France knows how to obtain), of a very small portion of the territory of the river of the Levant, will give her the gulph of Spezzia, the best and most spacious port in the Mediterranean. A road, of about 90 miles, leads from Spezzia to Mantua, by the way of Pontremoli and Parma. This road will enable France at once to carry the trade of upper Italy to Spezzia, from Leghorn and Genoa; and to march, unknown to the court of Vienna, any number of her troops from her southern departments, to the banks of the Adige, that is to say, to the weakest part of the Austrian frontier.—The destruction of the house of Austria is an object of which France never for a moment loses sight. Parma itself eventually belonged to Austria; so that, by the present seizure, the French republicans accomplish the triple purpose of opening a way to the Austrian frontier, of diminishing the Austrian dominions, and of insulting, by a low-born, low-bred, low-minded agent, a princess of that illustrious house!—As to *this country*, what can its present ministers object to the measures of France with respect to Parma?—They made peace with her, being, at the same time, fully informed of the existence of the convention, in virtue of which France now takes possession of the Duchy. What simpletons are those, then, who are whining about this "new encroachment," and who approved of, and rejoiced at the treaty of Amiens, and the "blessings" which it brought them!

The ministers have now expressed, through their prints, the *True Briton* and *Sun*, the "satisfaction" they feel at perceiving, that the "Chief Consul has given way, upon some important points, to Austria, in the settlement of the indemnities;" and this concession they affect to regard as "a circumstance which holds out a better prospect

of the pacification of Europe, than any thing they have witnessed for some months past!"—What can these "important points" be, then, upon which the Consul has given way to Austria?—Why, truly, the emperor has, after a long series of humiliations and insults, been able to obtain for his brother, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the revenues of two or three German abbeys, the monks of which, that is to say, the real lawful proprietors of those revenues, will, in consequence, be turned out to beg their bread! This is the *favourable circumstance*, this is the *important change*, which has produced so fair a prospect of "the pacification of Europe."—True is the saying, that drowning men catch at straws! How desperate must be the situation, or how callous must be the feelings of ministers, who can have recourse to such palpable, such shameful misrepresentations!

The attempt, sometime ago spoken of, to make such a change in the government of Holland as would, in some small degree, lessen the oppressive influence of France, has, we are informed, completely failed; and the Dutch have been compelled to pay *two hundred thousand pounds sterling* to those who have, on this occasion, acted as the *protectors* of their *independence*!—But, what have we to do with this? Our ministers did, indeed, in the True Briton of the 30th of October, make a sort of promise, that, if Buonaparté interfered in the affairs of Holland, they would keep the *Cape, Demerara, and Essequibo*, because "these were ceded, at the peace, to Holland, certainly, at that time, too much under French influence; but not to Holland, a province of France."—Such was their tone on the 30th of October; but, since that day, Buonaparté has called them in his paper, a "*prudent ministry*," and has signified his intention to let us still enjoy "the blessings of peace," provided they remain in office.

There is a rumour, that the Toulon fleet, with a great number of troops on board, has put to sea. This news may be premature, but, if the French have not possession of Egypt before the month of March next we shall be very much deceived. It is said, that our army is not upon the best possible footing with the Turks; and it would be folly, in the extreme, not to anticipate the most dangerous consequences from the all-powerful influence, which the French possess at Constantinople.—The time may come, when the government of England will regret the want of a Sir Sidney Smith at Acra, and

will reflect, with shame, on its ingratitude towards that gallant officer.

Buonaparté has returned to Paris, safe and sound, in spite of the prayers and predictions of the timid herd, who were in hopes of losing their fears in his loss of life. There are none but the basest of cowards, who look to the death of this man as a deliverance from danger. Yet, disgraceful as is the fact, the hopes of no small portion of the advocates of peace have no better, no more honourable, foundation. Those who, like ourselves, were opposed to a disgraceful peace with Buonaparté, do not, nor ever did, entertain any such foolish hope; we know that if he were dead to-morrow, another, perhaps even more dangerous, would arise to fill his place: we are for the employment of no base means of offence or of defence, but are for a fair and honourable contest between the two nations, in which, with God's good help, we should hope to come off victorious, and to rescue our country from impending ruin and slavery.—The Consul has been received at the several places which he visited on his tour, with every demonstration of joy; precisely such as we could wish to see accompany the steps of our gracious Sovereign.—People may say what they please about the *hypocrisy* of this joy; we, for our parts think it perfectly sincere, and, what is more, *we see no reason why it should not be so*. We have nothing to say against those meek and unambitious persons, who sicken at the sound of military fame and national conquests; but, we must confess, that, for our parts, we should not like a leader the worse, for having extended our sway over one half of Europe, added ten millions to our population, and humbled our rival in the dust.—No, no; such a man may be hated by the Addingtons and Hawkesburies, and by all those who dread the increase of his power, but not by the people of France, not by those, the advancement of whose glory (which is inseparable from his own) is the only object of his life.

Lord Whitworth arrived at Paris on Sunday last, the 14th instant. It is thought, by some persons, that, however great the talents and merit of Lord Whitworth may be (and few people deny him either), there was very little dexterity or policy in sending the husband of the Dutchess of Dorset to Paris. It is mortifying enough to be compelled to send a lord to bow before Buonaparté, without sending a Dutchess to curtsy to his wife. It is, more than ever, necessary to pay attention to these things.

The time is gone by when our fleets and our guineas were sure to vanquish the men and the women of France.

But why do we vex ourselves with reflections like these? Why disquiet ourselves in vain at the forced humiliation of one noble pair abroad, while hundreds, at home, and under our very eyes, voluntarily run to prostrate themselves, not before Buonaparté, but before his representative? The introduction of Andreossi at the British court was attended with circumstances well calculated to do away the charge of *pride*, which has so long been preferred against the English nation. That Andreossi should be received with shouts of joy at *Dover* was quite natural; *Dover* and *Calais* live by peace and starve by war: they are two spots, which may always be considered as extrapoltical; but that, after what has passed, a French Minister should be received with acclamations within the verge of the court, is not less ominous than disgraceful. It appears that Andreossi really thought, that his entrance into London would produce some marks of unpopularity; and this is thought to be the reason why he chose to come in at midnight. The Minister's prints, the *True Briton* and *Sun*, took occasion, from this circumstance, to boast of "the patriotic disposition of the people." "If," said they, "the arrival of the present French Minister has not been greeted with such enthusiastic symptoms of cordiality" [as those which were discovered upon the arrival of *Lauriston*], "how are we to account for it? Because circumstances have occurred, in the course of the last three or four months, too well calculated to repress the hopes, so credibly entertained by our generous countrymen, that the sincerity of France would keep pace with our own. Because his arrival had been preceded by two of the most violent and hostile manifestoes, which have appeared in the French official paper." It would have been much more natural to have accounted for this want of enthusiastic symptoms from the simple circumstance of the man's coming in at a time when all the lovers of peace and plenty were in bed; but the passage here quoted from the official papers was intended as a hint to the people for the regulation of their conduct. To the utter confusion, however, of the ministerial host, the people "to whose voice the ministers paid a proper respect in restoring to them the blessings of peace," paid no attention to the hint: but, on the contrary crowded,

from all parts of the town, to see, to bow to, and to hail with huzzas, the representative of Buonaparté. Not less than a thousand persons ran after his carriage down Bond-Street. St James's-Street was lined on both sides with carriages of the nobility and gentry, and with an innumerable herd on foot, by whom he was repeatedly cheered, on his way to and from the court. To avoid this disgraceful symptom, it was given out, by the direction of Government of course, that Mr. Andreossi *was not coming to court that day*; but this wise expedient failed also: the people, the good people, were not to be so cheated out of the benediction, which they expected from this *Minister of peace and plenty*.—This scene is, by the sleek-headed sons of hope, attributed to the mere curiosity of a crowd of gaping fools. Amongst the carriages in St. James's-Street we hear there were several with coronets on them, and we have too much respect for rank to call the persons within "gaping fools." Besides, suppose they were all fools that gaped at Andreossi, foolish as they are it never came into their heads to gape at, or run after, any other foreign minister. Granted, too, that it was "mere curiosity" that assembled this extraordinary crowd; but what was it that occasioned the curiosity? Did the person of any other foreign minister ever excite such curiosity, or, indeed, any curiosity? We have had ambassadors from those illustrious Sovereigns the Emperor of Russia and from the Emperor of Germany, our great and faithful allies, and formerly from the King of France: but, did any of these ever excite any public curiosity? Were the streets ever crowded to see them pass? Were they ever cheered with the huzzas of an English populace?—To the makers and defenders of the peace, to those who brought this man amongst us, and who broke down the pride and spirit of the people, we cheerfully resign all the pleasure to be derived from reflecting on these circumstances, which, to us, are infinitely more terrific than was the mutiny in the fleet.

We intended to give our opinion, at some length, on the paltry accommodation, which, it is but too evident, ministers are resolved to make with France, and on the political objects, which ought immediately to be attended to by the parliament; but, these subjects we are obliged to postpone for the purpose of making some remarks on the domestic occurrence, which at present engrosses public conversation and enquiry. The reader will, at once, perceive, that we allude to

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the conspiracy, imputed to DESPARD and his associates, an account of which will be found under our Domestic head. This is another of the "blessings of peace." The defenders of the treaty, which Mr. Windham emphatically called "the death-warrant of England," were under *no apprehensions* of the tendency which the peace would have to revive the hopes and plots of the republican conspirators. We will not sicken our readers by quoting the words, in which lord's Hawkesbury and Castlereagh and several other speakers, assured us of our perfect *security* in this respect. It must be well remembered, that the fears, expressed by Mr. Windham were treated as *a dream*, and even so represented by a ministerial caricaturist, who described the "alarmist orator" in his bed, surrounded by priests, bishops, gentry, nobility, princesses, princes, the queen, and the king, with their heads chopped off, and their necks streaming with blood; while, in a distant scene, lord Hawkesbury was sitting in a chair, in the act of signing a paper, having his fingers directed by the hand of Mr. Pitt, who stood at his back.—It is an old saying, that there is many a *true word spoken in jest*; and many a dream that *comes true*! God in his mercy forbid that *this* should; but who will now dare, who will have the boldness, who will have the profligacy, to laugh at Mr. Windham's awful predictions? The *jests*, which, as the newspapers told us, the *sprightly* Lord Hawkesbury cut upon that gentleman's most solemn and impressive speech of the 29th of October, 1801, may possibly be turned into bitter mourning; and, could that mourning be confined to himself and to those who, with him, made and defended the treaty of Amiens, we, for our parts, should feel little inclination to repine.—Let no one charge us with vindictiveness; we can have no *private* interest to answer, no *private* feeling to gratify; but, we cannot view the present state of things, we cannot contrast it with the time when our army had just re-conquered Egypt, when our fleets blockaded Brest, Cadiz, and the Texel, when all our colonies and our trade, were in perfect security, and when this island itself was a scene of tranquillity and happiness; we cannot make this comparison, and particularly we cannot think of the danger which has menaced, and which, perhaps, yet does menace, the precious life of our revered and beloved sovereign, without feeling resentment against those "*safe politicians*," whose ignorance, weakness, pu-

sillanimity, and selfishness have already thus plunged us into a state of jeopardy little short of revolution.—That the conspiracy is to be ascribed to the peace, and to the peace *alone*, no man of sense and sincerity will attempt to deny. All the elements of it, as far as they have yet been made public, arise out of the peace. The peace has taken off certain legal restrictions; the peace has opened a free channel to and from France; French republicans and regicides can come here, and English traitors can go there; French regicides have been introduced in the Royal Society of England. But, we shall be told, that this must have happened at *any* peace; and that, to avoid it, we must have had "eternal war." *Eternal war*, dreadful as is the thought, would have been preferable to the present situation of this country. But "eternal war" was not the only alternative. It is the *tone* and the *terms* of the peace, and not peace itself in the abstract, which has produced all our dangers, and which has, in a more particular manner encouraged the republicans to renew their nefarious projects. That *tone* and those *terms* convinced them, that the government was become weak and pusillanimous; the humiliating the disgraceful conditions, to which this country had stooped, effaced, in their bosoms, the last remaining traces of regard for it; and, if it be true, that DESPARD had conceived the design of raising his hands against the sacred person of his Sovereign, who can say how far that damnable design ought to be attributed to the triumph of the traitor Napper Tandy? And, indeed, who will venture to assert, if DESPARD should be found guilty and condemned, that he also does not expect, nay, that he also *will not find* a friend powerful enough to demand and to obtain his release?—Thus do all our troubles, all our dangers, naturally flow from the peace: from that measure, which sunk the government in the eyes of the people; and the nation in the eyes of the world—One word more: it is said, that there is an intention again to suspend the *Habeas Corpus* Act. We shall not stop here to remark on this as a symptom of that "*perfect security*," that "*calm delight*," that "*tranquil repose*," so forcibly and elegantly described by Lords Castlereagh, Belgrave, and Hawkesbury, but shall just express our anxious hope, that, while we are at peace with France, the *discretionary power of imprisonment* will never be lodged in the hands of the present ministers, notwithstanding even Buonaparté bear testimony of their "*prudence*."

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

*At the Court at St. James's, the 3d of November, 1802, Present the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council,—*His Majesty having been pleased to appoint Geo. Prevost, Esq. Governor and Commander in Chief of the Island of Dominica, in America, he this day took the usual oaths appointed to be taken by the governors of his Majesty's plantations.

War-Office, Nov. 8. 1802.—His Majesty doth hereby direct and require, that all the out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, residing in South Britain, who were discharged from their respective corps, as serjeants, corporals, drummers, or private men, (those resident in London, or within twenty-five miles thereof, who are to attend at Chelsea on such days as the Commissioners of the said hospital shall appoint; the out-pensioners from the late Horse Guards, and Horse Grenadier Guards, the Life Guards, and Royal Regiment of Horse Guards; such men as, by the hospital books are now more than fifty-five years of age, or had served twenty-five years in the army previously to their discharges; those who have lost a limb, or their eye-sight, or are cripples, and the letter-men excepted,) do personally appear at the places, and on the days hereinafter mentioned, in order that such of them as, on examination, shall be found fit, may be sent to garrison duty, viz.—[Here follows an enumeration of the different places at which, and of the days when they are to appear.]—His Majesty is graciously pleased to declare, that, every man found fit for duty shall be entitled, on his arrival at the garrison to which he shall be sent, to receive a bounty of one pound five shillings, or so much thereof as shall remain after supplying him with proper necessaries; and those who, on examination, are found unfit for duty, shall be dismissed with proportionate subsistence to carry them back to their homes.—And it is hereby further notified, that all out pensioners in South Britain, discharged as aforesaid, as well from the cavalry as infantry (except as above excepted) who shall not appear at the times and places herein appointed, will be considered as otherwise provided for by government, or as dead; and they will accordingly be struck off the books of the out-pension of the said hospital without any prospect of being restored thereto,

By His Majesty's command, C. Yorke.

BANKRUPTS.

Salomonson, Solomon, of New-street, Bishopsgate-street, merchant.—Bucks, Henry, Gloucester, sugar-refiner.—Cockerell, Michael, Walpole, Suffolk, shop-keeper.—Lang, Thomas, Liverpool, merchant.—Frosser, William, Hatton-Garden, white smith.—Peach, Robert, Wakefield, wool-stapler.—Vincent, James, Wapping-wall, cheese-monger.—Lake, William, Bishopsgate-street, merchant.—Frippass, William, St. Martin's-le-grand, bookseller.—Clark, William, Newport, Isle of Wight, perfumer.—King, John, Portland-place, banker and merchant.—Sandoz, Charles, Richmond-buildings, watch-maker.—True, Thomas, Stamford, Lincolnshire, draper.—Champion, William, Worksop, Nottingham, common-brewer.—Ding, William and Daniel, Brightelmstone, shop-keepers.—Levy, Samuel, King-street, Tower-hill,

slop-seller.—Blunt, Thomas, Godalming, Surrey, money-scrivener.—Chapman, John, Yarmouth, linen-draper.—Dulhant, Mary, and Ann Baker, Sackville-street, milliners.—Furtardo, Isaac, South-street, Finsbury-square, merchant.—Chaplin, Thomas, Kingston, merchant.—Osbaldeston, Alexander, Bruton-street, worsted-man.—Twiss, Richard, Upper Titchfield-street, paper-manufacturer.—Seymour, Henry, Maidenhead, Berks.—Satchliffe, John, York, chemist.—Bennet, William, Greenfield-street, Mile-end, merchant.—Leach, James, Jewry-street, wine merchant.—Smith, John, Wakefield, hatter.—Welsborne, Charles, Evesham, grocer.—Craik, James, Broad-street, broker.—Williams, Thomas, and William Pondered, Little Sutton-street, tin plate workers.—Spencer, Rich. Liverpool, merchant.—Haywood, Joseph, and Joseph Cotterill, Bromley, farmers.—Wimpenny, Joseph, Elland, inn-keeper.—Leplastrier, Robert, Holywell-street, potatoe dealer.—Ward, Joseph, Brentwood, publican.—Button, Amy, Reading, inn-keeper.—Bird, Henry, Clifton, shoe-maker.—Brogi, Francis, Strand, Italian merchant.—Bennett, Joseph, Blackman-street, carpenter.—Rawlins, James, Red Lion-street, hardwareman.—Stanley, John, King's Norton, farmer.—Sheldon, Daniel, Wood-street, warehouseman.—White, Thomas, Rosemary-lane, cooper.—Hill, James, Lombard-street, jeweller.—Lukin, George, and Wm. Neve, London, merchants.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS.

Birth.—On the 23d ult. Lady Margaret Maclean, of a son.—On the 30th ult. the Lady of the Right Hon. and Rev. Lord Charles Aynsley, at his Lordship's seat, Littlecharle Tower, Northumberland, of a daughter.

Marriages.—On Wednesday, at Taunton, Col. de Visme, late of the Coldstream Guards, to Mrs. Halls, at Edinburgh.—On the 29th ult. the Hon. Archibald Macdonald, to Miss Jane Campbell, of St. Andrew's-square.—Major Alexander Armstrong, to Miss Clarke, of Waterford.—At Kew, by Dr. Wm. Foster, the Rev. William Philpot, of Kew, to Mrs. Lewis, of Richmond.

Deaths.—On Wednesday, at Bristol, the Rev. Dr. Hunter.—On the 20th ult. Lady Hamilton, of Roschall.—On the 26th ult. the Rev. John Fairfax Franchlin, Rector of Attleborough, Norfolk.—At Taunton, Capt. Corfield, of the Royal Pembroke-shire Legion.—On the 30th, at Catfield, Hants, the Hon. Mrs. Blackwood.—On the 27th, the Rev. W. Paul, of Saint Cuthberts.—Of a complaint in his lungs, M. de Calonne, in his 57th year.—On the 21st ult. His Excellency Philip Charles Alvensleben, Minister of State, at Berlin.—On Wednesday last, Sir Walter Vutavaso, Bart. of Haslewood, Yorkshire.

Mr. Cobbett's Letter to Lord Auckland, respecting the abuses in the General Post-Office, together with several other articles are unavoidably omitted; but shall appear in our next.